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THE AMERICAN.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

LABOR DAY, the youngest of our national holidays, is a recognition of the truism that labor is the source of all wealth, the source of all material power. The most recently dedicated of our national holidays, yet a day dedicated to the honoring of the greatest force in society, the one indispensable force in the creation of wealth, Labor Day was set aside for the exaltation of labor, for the exhortation of labor by word and exhibition of power to the pursuit of high ideals. But the tendency of the times is to give over the day so dedicated to merrymaking, not the honoring and uplifting of labor. Just as we celebrate Independence Day, dedicated to the commemoration of the nation's birth, just as we celebrate Decoration Day, dedicated to the memory of the nation's dead, just as we celebrate Thanksgiving Day, by merrymaking and athletic sports, so do we celebrate Labor Day. This tendency to appropriate days, dedicated to the commemoration of great events or the honoring of great ideals, to merrymaking, is unmistakable, and may be regretted by some as evidencing a growing lack of patriotic or religious fervor, a growing insensibility to the responsibilities of life, a readiness to cast aside the duties of citizenship for bodily enjoyments and as standing proof of the growth of weaknesses in the national character and effervescence of purpose in place of fixity, such as is threatening to the national life.

But because the growing tendency is to give over Thanksgiving Day to pleasure seeking rather than to prayer, it does not follow, of necessity, that we are any the less thankful for the bounties of nature that have fallen to our lot; because we choose to celebrate Independence Day in more noise and smoke year after year, and listen less to mediocre addresses commemorative of the day is no proof that patriotism is declining; because we keep Labor Day by merrymaking rather than in systematic efforts to exalt the respect in which labor is held is no proof that labor is not honored. In short, because, when days of relaxation from toil come around, we should seek to get the fullest mead of pleasure out of those days, and should be little inclined to put them to the uses to which, in a narrow sense, they were dedicated, is no cause for pessimistic forebodings.

It is very true that labor is not honored as it should be, that there is much remaining for labor to do in order to exalt itself, much that must be done before it can attain the high ideals now set for it. It may also be true that the best use is not made of Labor Day for the exalting of labor, but the great truth is, that labor must not only exert itself on Labor Day, but on all days, to exalt itself before it can accomplish much toward the attainment of high ideals. It is said, indeed, that the movement for the exalting of labor during the balance of the year should be given direction by action taken by labor on Labor Day, that labor should make use of that day for mutual advice, exhortation and council, and for the taking of steps that would give general direction for the exalting of labor during the other days of the year.

But labor has yet to go about its own uplifting in a systematic manner, it has yet to learn the necessity of common action for release from those conditions that stand in the way of its exaltation, conditions brought about by baneful governmental policies. To cast to one side the forces called into action by government for the oppression of labor, wage earners must unite politically. This they have as yet failed to do, and though it may be regrettable, it can hardly be said to be disappointing that they should not make full use of Labor Day for the bringing about of such organization for political action as is the stepping stone to advancement, such organization being the only tool by which they can remove obstacles reared by baneful governmental policies or tolerated by government, which stand in the way of their exaltation.

EFFORTS to bring about such political action and give effectual direction to the movement of our wage earning classes for emancipation from the burdens that hold them down and prevent their rapid advancement, are not, indeed, wanting from the exercises commemorative of Labor Day. Indeed, in the celebrations of the day held under the auspices of organized labor, pains are taken to point out the obstacles reared by government to the advancement of labor and the steps that must be taken for the removal of those obstacles. It is with this end that the addresses made to organized labor on Labor Day are directed. But mere prating against injustice and baneful gov-

ernmental policies, and advice as to remedial legislation, will not serve to do away with such policies or effect the remedial legislation. Such ends can only be attained by organization and such organization is not the work of a day. It can only be built up by persistent work, and this work must be carried on, not on Labor Day alone, but on all days. Otherwise it will be futile. And the addresses made to wage earners on Labor Day, however sound the advice given, must be fruitless, unless followed up by organization for political action, and this organization will not grow of itself, it will only grow if those who advise it will work for it.

When obstacles to the progress of labor must be removed, and can only be removed by political action, political action that wage earners can only force by organization, mere prating against such obstacles will not suffice. It is action, not talk, that is needed, and talk is empty and profitless unless given direction by organization. Yet the leaders of organized labor refuse to take part in organizing wage earners for political action. They take pains to get men to make addresses on Labor Day pointing out the obstacles that stifle the advancement of labor, obstacles of political origin and that can alone be removed by political action, yet they absolutely refuse to take effective steps for the removal of those obstacles, that is, refuse to aid in organizing labor for political action by which means the removal of such obstacles can alone be forced.

OF ALL the Labor Day addresses the most significant was that made by Ex-Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, under the auspices of the United Labor League of this city. Governor Altgeld cut to the root of the evils that hinder the advancement of our laboring classes and in so doing cut a broad swathe in advance of the Democratic party. Recognizing that our railroads are corrupting the body politic, that they do not render equitable transportation facilities but systematically discriminate in favor of those industries that the cliques controlling the railroads are interested in, and those industries willing to pay tribute to such cliques, while discriminating against others, thus making such a thing as equality of opportunity an unknown quantity in industries dependent upon the railroads for transportation; recognizing moreover that our railroads are grossly over capitalized and that they tax those using the roads in the shape of undue transportation charges in order to pay interest on much of this over-capitalization, and seeing no remedy for these evils other than government ownership, Governor Altgeld boldly advocated such ownership. Thus he went in advance of his party, and when he further urged government ownership of telegraphs and declared his belief in the referendum he put himself on the grounds of the Populist rather than the Democratic party.

Governor Altgeld is one of those noble men decried because of their very uprightness, who has the courage to stand by his convictions whatever may be the cost, one of those men ready to sacrifice self for principle, ready to bear personal abuse and slander in order to promote the country's weal. His reward may be loss of place in his party and the closing of the paths to political preferment, it may be the making of a place and honor at the hands of a new party, but whatever the reward, he possesses that all-too-rare courage of following unswervingly the path of duty as he sees it. He cringes not before the rapidly developing issues of the day, he fears not to meet those new issues, avow his convictions and do what he may to give direction to such issues, not held back, as many men, by the fear of wrecking personal ambitions. Thus Governor Altgeld possesses the qualities of leadership and possessing those qualities is fitted for leadership. He should have a leading place in the struggle for the emancipation of the producing classes of his adopted country.

URGING that the government take over the ownership of our railroads as the only means of securing an equality of opportunity

to all producers, as the only means of protecting investors from despoilment at the hands of the unscrupulous cliques quite ready to wreck a railroad when prepared to prey upon the investors in such property, as the only means of taking out of politics a great force unscrupulously used, Governor Altgeld pointed out that such assumption of ownership would not put any increase of burdens on our people, but would rather diminish those burdens by diminishing transportation rates; that such assumption of ownership could be ultimately made "the source of such great revenue as would alone support the government and thus solve the problem of keeping the Treasury supplied." Now it would be quite possible to accomplish this, namely, make the railroads a source of great revenue and thus enable the national government to reduce taxation in other directions, but it would be quite undesirable. Every dollar paid into the National Treasury by the railroads would represent an indirect tax collected from the users of the roads. So the true burden of taxation would be in no way diminished, and taxation collected in this way would have the great disadvantage that the taxpayers, in this case the users of the railroads, would not realize when they paid the tax or what they paid, and hence would be quite unlikely to make any complaint at a great increase of taxation collected in this way, at least so long as such increase was not made by an increase of transportation rates. And when taxation can thus be readily raised without exciting protest, the temptation to run the government on a wasteful and extravagant scale must be great.

Our people must pay the costs of government, and it is preferable that the taxes to meet these costs should be raised directly, so that their magnitude may be appreciated, than that they should be raised indirectly, raised by adding to the cost of whiskey or beer or sugar or transportation rates, for taxes so raised cannot be well measured by the people, and, as a matter of fact, are not considered as taxes at all. It is said that to raise the costs of government by direct taxation would lead to great complaint. If so, all the more reason for so raising them, for if the taxes are so high as to create just complaint if they were measurable, it is not right to cover up the magnitude and burden of taxation by collecting the taxes indirectly.

The people are or should be the judges of what is a just or what is not a just rate of taxation, and to form this judgment intelligently, they must be able to measure the burdens of taxation, something they could not do if that taxation was collected through the railroads charging higher rates than required to cover operating expenses and the charges upon the debt issued to purchase the roads, just how much higher it being quite impossible to tell. Higher taxation than the people are willing to pay directly should not be collected from them by indirect means, and so the evil of using the railroads as a source of revenue. The State railroads are so used in Germany, and it is found to be a very effective way of collecting taxes without letting the people know it. But where the people are rulers, and not an emperor, this is just what we do not want. We do not want to collect taxes without letting the people know it, we want to let them know just what they are paying, so they can say what they are willing to pay. And more than they are willing to pay, a government, that is the servant of the people, should not ask. The representatives of the people should measure their appropriations by what the people are willing to pay, not by what they can collect from the people without letting them know.

THE purchase of the railroads by the government would require large issues of bonds, possibly to an amount of \$5,000,000,000, but not more, for our railroads are not worth more than this sum though capitalized at double this amount. Half their capital is water and on nearly half of their capital they are paying no interest. On a capital of \$5,000,000,000 the railroads are now earning about 7 per cent. and as the government could probably

place its bonds at as low a rate as $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the mere taking over of the railroads by the government would cut down the expenditures now made by the railroads as interest by one-half. This would mean a saving of \$175,000,000. How much more would be saved by the doing away of the corruption funds and of the fees of lawyers engaged in disputes between different roads which would of course be ended by the taking over of the roads by the government, can only be guessed at, but the saving on these scores would certainly be large. So it is quite evident that if the government made no reductions in transportation rates after taking over the roads, the profits to the government would be very large, large enough to meet at least one-half of the national expenditures. Therefore it is clear that the government could raise a very large indirect tax without our people feeling it, that is without raising present transportation rates. But the true course of the government upon reducing the expenditures of the railroads by, say \$200,000,000, would be to reduce transportation rates in like ratio, which would be about 15 per cent. under present rates. By so doing the saving effected by the reduction in expenditures would be distributed among those entitled to it. Rates should be made high enough to make the railroads self-supporting. Whatever was charged above such rates would be a tax on the users of the railroads for which no direct benefit would be returned.

Governor Altgeld sought to show the advantages to be derived from government ownership by drawing comparisons between our railroads and the state roads of Europe. Thus he showed that the average transportation rates for passengers carried on the German roads, third and fourth class, are but half the charges on our railroads. But the accommodation given in Germany is not to be compared with the accommodation in America. The fourth class carriages in Germany are little better than our cattle cars would be if furnished with board seats. Then, too, Governor Altgeld pointed to the fact that there are fewer accidents on the state roads of Europe than on our roads, this being taken as an evidence of more careful management. But this again is an unjust comparison. There are indeed fewer casualties on the state roads of Europe than on our roads, but this is attributable largely to the slow rate of speed at which they run their trains.

On the other hand, it is urged against government ownership that the state roads of Europe do not furnish anything like as good accommodation as our roads, but this has nothing to do with the question of government ownership, as is proven by the fact that the private roads of Germany and France furnish no better accommodation than the state roads. In short, the quality of accommodation is fixed not by government or private ownership, but by social conditions, by the demands of the patrons of the roads. The accommodation they demand and are willing to pay for will be furnished; the higher the plane of society the higher will be the grade of accommodation furnished.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD also took a strong position in favor of government ownership of the coal mines and condemned in well measured words the attitude of the courts in the coal strike now being brought to a close. He also urged the establishment of postal savings banks and this is the one reform he advocated that has a fair show of being carried out during Mr. McKinley's administration. Postals savings banks have a strong friend at court in the person of Postmaster General Gary, and to the establishment of such banks, or rather the making of each post office of the United States a place for the deposit of savings, there is no avowed opposition. So there is a good prospect of the extension of our postal system so as to make it a postal savings bank system as well. Such extension would be no experiment, it was first tried in Great Britain and with great success, and the system has since been put in operation by nearly all the countries of Europe and by our northern neighbor, Canada. The advan-

tages of a postal savings bank system are manifest. First the government becoming banker and responsible to the depositors, there is no danger of loss to the depositors unless the government falls. Second it brings the facilities of the savings bank within reach of practically everyone, facilities that are now denied to great numbers of our people living in the agricultural communities and distant from a savings bank.

The one serious question raised in connection with the establishment of a postal savings bank, is how to invest the money. This question has not troubled the European Governments with large national debts. They have invested the savings of the people in their respective national debts. But this we cannot do with our comparatively small and closely held national debt. To attempt to do so would force up the price of national bonds to a point at which the yield of interest would be very small. However when the time comes for the taking over of the railroads by the government and the issue of bonds to an amount of the honest value of the roads, this question will disappear for then there will be full opportunity for the investment of such savings by the government.

IRELAND is the latest country to be added to the list of those with short harvests. The grain crop is reported to be an almost total failure, and the same is said to be true of potatoes in many districts. Indeed, 1897 seems to have been a bad year for potatoes generally. The crop is reported to be short all over Europe, and our own crop promises much less than an average yield. So the need of Western Europe for food from outside sources is very great, and as this need multiplies so multiplies the demand for our food products. And now it appears not only that our wheat crop is not much if any above the average, though considerably in excess of the short wheat crop of last year, but that our corn crop is in danger of being cut to less than two-thirds of last year's crop. If it was not for the great amount of corn left over from last year there would be danger of actual deficiency in the supply of corn. So our prospects for realizing great sums from our crops because of the misfortunes of our customers and competitors are not of the brightest.

Wheat is at the present time being exported at an unparalleled rate, and exports of cotton and other produce keep well up in volume and value. At the same time imports have been small, so that a great merchandise balance has been built up in our favor. But still no gold comes from London and there is no indication of its coming. Instead of growing weaker, exchange on London grows firmer, which is striking proof that the drafts drawn upon our unparalleled volume of exports fall short of meeting our current indebtedness to London. In other words, the world, which makes its settlements through London, is selling more to us than we are selling to the world, and as our imports of merchandise are quite small there is but one explanation of this fact, and that is that England is selling us securities faster than is required to offset the bills drawn against wheat and cotton, etc., and sold on the New York market in excess of the bills drawn against us by foreigners on account of our imports and the interest on our foreign debt.

THE effect of this sale of securities is making itself felt on the New York banks. The securities offered on our markets by the British bankers are bought by our own bankers who are already possessed of such securities and having borrowed upon them cannot afford to let the price drop. And to pay for their further purchases they have to borrow further from the banks. The proceeds realized from such sales, of course, go to the agents of the British bankers and to the shippers of wheat, etc., to whom the British are indebted. And these shippers of wheat have, of course, to pay the farmers for their produce. So they deposit the proceeds of the securities sold in the New York banks, directly

or indirectly to the credit of the country banks representing the agents from whom they purchased the wheat. And as these agents must have money to pay the farmers they draw upon the country banks which in turn draw upon their New York reserves. The result is an increase of loans by the New York banks and a decrease of cash resources, an increase of loans to the speculators and a loss of money to the country. Thus for the week ending September 4th, the New York banks increased their loans over \$8,000,000, which loans, made presumably to the purchasers of foreign securities dumped on our markets, became the basis for an equal amount of deposits made by the agents from whom the British bought our grain, etc., and through whom they sold our securities, but of these deposits \$4,000,000 were drawn away to the country in payment for grain, leaving the net result to the New York banks, an increase in loans of \$8,000,000, an increase of deposits of \$4,000,000, a decrease in cash of \$4,000,000, and a decrease in the surplus cash reserve to \$34,000,000.

If such conditions long continue, and there is every probability that they will, a certainty that they will if British bankers continue to sell our securities, the New York banks will have to curtail loans. If they curtail loans to the bankers who have purchased the major part of our securities returned, then such bankers will be unable to buy the continued offerings of similar securities on foreign account, stock exchange prices will crumble, the collateral now held by the banks against the loans they have made to enable our stock speculators to purchase the securities dumped on our markets up to this time will shrink, loans on such collateral will be called and then will come something very much akin to a stock exchange panic. But if, as is far more likely, the banks curtail their loans to merchants and manufacturers, then will follow the forced sale of merchandise, the dropping of prices, the wiping out of profits and a most serious check to trade revival. So if the British bankers continue to sell our securities, the New York banks will have to choose one horn or the other of anything but a pleasing dilemma, and whichever horn they take they cannot foresee its ending.

THERE are still echoes of international bimetallism, but not of a very promising kind. The first comes from the editor of the London *Statist*, who assumes that the Wolcott commission, assuming to represent the United States, and the French minister to England representing France, have submitted some sort of a provisional proposal to the British Government aiming at the restoration of bimetallism, and it is to this proposal that the Wolcott commission awaits the answer indefinitely promised for October. What that proposal is, the editor of the *Statist*, does not essay to divine, but he makes one shrewd guess that the tentative proposal submitted to the British Government was, that France and the United States would open their respective mints to free silver coinage, if the British Government would open the Indian mints. And we doubt not that such proposal was made. What is more it would have promptly been accepted by the British Government and a tentative agreement for the restoration of bimetallism entered into if it had not become apparent to the British Government that the Wolcott commission was promising something that the United States Government would not carry out, that while assuming to represent the United States it had no authority to make any such offer, and that Mr. McKinley would not back up such proposal by urging its acceptance by Congress if agreed to by Great Britain. So the British Government did not accept the joint proposal of the Wolcott commission and French Government and put off making any response to it until October. And now we have the *Statist* asserting that the British Government ought not to reopen the Indian mints on any such terms while we have the McKinley organ in Philadelphia, the *Press*, asserting in response to the declaration of the distinguished editor of the *Statist* that "It is

certainly not probable that this country will agree to any such scheme." So we see the chilling reception given by a leading Republican paper that has professed its belief in international bimetallism, to the first proposal for international bimetallism. When international bimetallism is a dream it favors it, when it becomes a reality it scouts it. And so it is with the Republican party.

In view of all this, the undermining of the Wolcott commission at home and the lack of support given it abroad, it is no wonder General Paine has come home, in seeming disgust. Asked if he had seen any indication of England joining in a movement for the restoration of bimetallism, he replied "I can't say that I have, we are waiting to see." But General Paine evidently did not think it worth while to wait. We are also told Senator Wolcott is ready to come home in real or feigned disgust at the lack of support accorded the commission by Mr. McKinley, put the blame for the failure of the commission to attain international bimetallism upon Mr. McKinley, as he can very well do, and seek to square himself with his constituents by reading himself out of the party that has failed to live up to its promises and by violently antagonizing the President.

THE coal strike has seemingly been fought out to a successful conclusion by the miners. If the promised settlement is lived up to the miners will reap very material benefits from the struggle, they will be amply repaid for the deprivation and suffering and anxiety they have undergone. The operators who have entered into the agreement for the settlement of the strike have apparently done so in good faith, but there seems to be a fear that they will break faith not out of preference, not intentionally, but be forced to it by force of circumstances. All the operators have not entered into the agreement to pay the compromise price, a price fixed on a basis of 65 cents a ton in the Pittsburgh district. In that district are the De Armitt mines, that are not included in the settlement. There are also other operators who have not bound themselves to the agreement. Against these operators the strike must of course be continued. On the success of the strike waged from now on against such operators depends the life of the Columbus agreement, by which the strike in the majority of mines was compromised. Operators who have entered this agreement and miners alike are interested in the success of the strike from now on. If the De Armitts can run their mines paying 54 cents a ton, 11 cents below the district price, and if other operators not parties to the Columbus agreement can do likewise, then this agreement will be short lived, for the operators not signing the agreement will be able to undersell those who did, by underselling them take their contracts and leave the pits coming under the agreement orderless and idle.

And then the operators who signed the agreement will break faith. So the efforts to close the De Armitt and other mines outside of the agreement and keep them closed until they will agree to that agreement will be unrelenting. Camps will be established at such mines, and the miners on strike at such mines will be given full pay, the miners who go back to work taxing themselves to this end. By such efforts it is hoped and expected that such mines can be kept closed until the operators, tired of losing profitable contracts, will agree to pay the full district rates.

The coal strike has passed through the first crisis only to enter upon another. There must be no faltering in meeting this second crisis by either the miners who go back to work or those who must continue on strike. Faltering at this stage has often brought defeat in the past after victory seemed won. This the miners should keep in mind. To falter now, to lay down arms before success is complete, is to throw away the fruits of the victory already won, to turn victory into defeat.

SENATOR CHANDLER has the gift of speaking tartly, and he

is not afraid to use his gift. The discriminating clause that was worked into the tariff bill, no one knows just how, yet a clause so important as to involve a question, it is said, of \$30,000,000 of revenue, a clause so important as to involve the rupture of our commercial relations with most of the nations of the world, a clause that under a broad interpretation that the administration hesitates to give it, would resurrect, in a measure, the policy of fostering the growth of our ocean marine by discriminating tariff duties against goods imported in foreign vessels, has riveted the attention of Senator Chandler. He declared that it owed its place in the tariff to a piece of legislative trickery. Senator Frye, glad to find that such a clause had found its way into the tariff bill and not disposed to question how it got there, came to its defense. How the amendment to this discriminating clause was secured he admitted he did not know, but he declared that no one but the Senator from New Hampshire would impinge the honor of the members of the Tariff Conference Committee, and that no Senator, other than the aforesaid Senator from New Hampshire, harbored the thought that the amendment found its way into the tariff by trickery. And to this Senator Chandler makes the following crushing reply: "As Senator Frye says, the conferees are all honorable men; of course, they had the necessary explanatory statement written, and it was left out by the 'blunder of a clerk.' That is always the safest ground to take in such cases."

THE fusion outwardly accomplished in Nebraska between Democrats, Populists and Free Silver Republicans, seems to have bred discord rather than harmony, to have put Populists and Democrats farther apart rather than to have brought them closer together. So the opposition to the Republican party in Nebraska is united in form rather than fact. The Populists who were opposed to fusion seem to have been treated with scant respect, as traitors to the Populist party, as hirelings of the Republican party. Whenever one arose to speak he was asked when he sold out for Republican money and was hooted down. Whether or not Republican money did play a part in building up opposition to fusion in Nebraska, we cannot at this distance judge. But all opponents of fusion were not opponents because they had been corrupted, and to treat men of honest beliefs as holding those beliefs for sordid reasons and as unentitled to a hearing as corruptible men, was not calculated to bring such men to cordial endorsement of the work of the convention but rather to estrange them. It would have been wiser to have given these men full hearing and fair treatment, for if defeated fairly defeat would not have rankled.

Browbeating methods are out of place in any convention, least of all in a people's convention. If a cause cannot succeed without resort to such tactics it does not deserve to succeed.

Thus ushered into the race the fusion ticket will labor under a serious handicap.

WITHIN the limits of Greater New York politics are boiling hot. Disappointed Republican bossism shut out from victory and the spoils of office by Mr. Low's independent candidacy for the Mayoralty declares that the Citizen's Union that has put Mr. Low in nomination shall not taste of the fruits of the victory that its action has cut off from the Republican organization. We have the declaration that the regular Republican organization will not only refuse to endorse Mr. Low's candidacy for mayor of the greater city but will actively oppose him by putting a full ticket of its own in the field, and thus make the success of Tammany assured.

National issues are playing no part in the struggle, the bitter contest being between Republican bossism and a group of men representing wealth, assuming to voice public opinion and essaying a bossism of their own. And in the struggle between Republican bossism and the new bossism that resents the very implica-

tion of bossism, the Democracy will slip in and carry off the prize. It may be that the Republican organization will yet endorse Mr. Low, being placated by being given the lesser places on the ticket of the Citizen's Union, but even so, the probabilities strongly favor Democratic success. It must not be forgotten that Greater New York is normally strongly Democratic and by comparison with the dissension in the Republican ranks there is no dissension in the ranks of the Democracy. Mr. Croker, or whoever Tammany may nominate, will stand a better chance than Mr. Low of being the first Mayor of Greater New York.

SO THE great Republican boss of New York will have to extract what grains of comfort he can out of helping on the defeat of Mr. Low, and of the independent organization that has effectively cut off the Republican organization from all hope of distributing the patronage of the new city. Thus a great boss has been defeated. And there is a greater boss, the boss of the Republican party, who is far from comfortable in his position. All is, not plain sailing for Mr. Hanna in Ohio. He has opposition in his own party, some open, and not important in itself, but evincing the presence of a secret opposition, the extent of which cannot be measured. And it is this that renders Mr. Hanna uneasy, this that spurs him to make every effort to assure success.

Mr. Hanna has ever been the enemy of Mr. Foraker. Eight years ago he refused his support to the Republican party for the reason that the then success of that party meant the election of Mr. Foraker to the Senate. And now it may be that Mr. Foraker, now Senator, will seek to pay off old scores. On the surface all is peace, but whether Senator Foraker has buried the hatchet for good, whether he will let bygones be bygones or not, there is one man who refuses to forget old sores. That man is Col. Conger, who was Chairman of the Ohio Republican State Committee, when Mr. Hanna carried his enmity to Mr. Foraker so far as to seek the overthrow of Mr. Foraker through the defeat of the Republican party. And now Col. Conger promises to do his best to do for Mr. Hanna what Mr. Hanna did for Mr. Foraker eight years ago.

So Mr. Hanna has enemies to meet within his party as well as without and how many enemies he has within his party he cannot tell. Therefore he is laying his plans of campaign so as to get every possible vote. So the campaign is to be made on a magnificent scale. The state is to be stumped and worked over by Republicans of prominence, hailing from all parts of the country. The aged Mr. Sherman is called upon and even the President is to be pressed into service. The President's part is to grace the rear platform of a train to carry him home to vote by trailing him through the close counties, in the hope that his progress and such short speeches as he may make will be followed by a whirl of enthusiasm.

As for Mr. Sherman, he is to put himself at the disposal of the State Committee. He is to put aside his work as Secretary of State to go campaigning. Now the country may lose nothing by this, for there is an impression that the affairs of state run smoother in Washington when he essays no part in the running. Still there is something in such campaigning akin to what is known in inferior places as "pernicious partisanship" and earns dismissal for the offenders, that is, when they oppose the views of their superiors. When time of government employees is used in campaigning for the administration, such political activity, truly pernicious to the public service, is conveniently winked at. But the slightest political activity in opposition to the party of superiors, although not interfering with work due the government, is prone to be classed as "pernicious partisanship" and earn dismissal. It is as wrong to thus deny men employed by government the right to advance their political views, so far as they can do so without interfering with their government work,

as it is wrong to tolerate employers in giving time that belongs to the government for the advancement of party interests.

THE force of public opinion is irresistible when directed with insistence. This we have evinced by the back down of the trustees of Brown University who forced the resignation of Dr. Andrews from the presidency of that institution because he believed in teaching what he regarded as the truth and not what was dictated by wealth, because he worshipped at the altar of truth and not at the altar of Mammon, and who now humbly ask him to continue at the head of the University from which they sought to drive him. And they thus eat their humble pie because it was commanded of them by the American public. What Dr. Andrews will do, whether he will continue at the head of Brown University, or take the headship of a new university founded on a new idea, with which his name is associated, remains to be seen, but this latest evidence of the irresistible force of public opinion, and the possibility of uniting public opinion despite the falsehoods of a press subservient to Mammon, is cause for hopefulness and rejoicing.

POPULISM, DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL CHAOS.

HE who dares not lead and compromises cannot be trusted with leadership. When a great issue is developing and new questions arising, when men's minds are in a formulative period and there is chaos of views among even those striving for the same general end, when party lines are changing and the necessary re-alignment lacking in direction, then is the greatest need for leadership to bring order out of chaos, to give direction to that which lacks direction, but then too is the greatest trial to those who essay leadership, then the greatest temptation for would-be leaders to compromise and avoid the responsibilities of leadership where announcement of convictions may mean the wrecking of personal ambitions, then the smothering of convictions by those who are cowed by the shadow of their own ambitions. He who seeks to shape his convictions and views toward great and rising questions by the effect that such shaping of views may have on his self advancement and who, unable to forejudge what shaping of views will best promote his personal ends, comes, so far as the public is concerned, to no convictions at all, is unfitted for leadership.

Two generations ago the struggle for the emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery was growing into prominence, superseding all other issues. Henry Clay, weighted down by his own political ambitions, ambitions that cramped his judgment and made him a coward, essayed to gain leadership by compromise. He sought to tie down the question to one of demarkation between slave and free states to be carved out of the national domain and he sought to make that demarkation by compromise. But the question was not compromisable. If chattel slavery was wrong north of a certain parallel of latitude it was equally wrong south of it, if slavery was repugnant to the great truths on which our Republic was founded in one part of the country it was equally repugnant in all. And so the issue would not be narrowed despite all that timid leaders could do. The issue broadened, and would-be leaders who sought to narrow it, fearing that bold announcement of opposition to the institution of slavery would make enemies and interfere with the attainment of political ambitions, lost the respect and confidence that can only come with true leadership and went down to defeat as they deserved. So it was that Henry Clay failed in the leadership he essayed. He failed because, fearing to lead, he was unfitted for leadership. Not until a true leader came forward, a man with great ambition, but with ambition to serve his country rather than himself, whose ability to lead was not cramped by personal ambition, was the struggle for the emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery crowned with success.

The new and greater struggle for emancipation, emancipation of our producing classes from industrial slavery, is no more compromisable than the old struggle for emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery. The new struggle can no more be narrowed than the old. The would-be leader, the party that would strive to narrow it cannot be trusted. The enslavement of our producing classes to an oligarchy of wealth and the struggle for emancipation is developing, and as it progresses new issues arise. And these issues must be met by the party that would lead successfully. To tie down the question of emancipation from industrial slavery to one issue, whereas the channels by which the moneyed oligarchy seeks to accomplish the enslavement of our people are several, is quite impossible.

The aggressions by which it is sought to grind our producing classes down into the poverty that presages industrial slavery are made through several agencies, separate and distinct, and as these aggressions have developed, so have new issues arisen. And all of these issues must be met. The emancipation of our industrial classes can never be accomplished by meeting one and passing the others by, never be attained by checking the aggressions of oligarchy at one point and leaving it free to pursue its aggressions at all others, never be accomplished by overthrowing one of the agencies, severing one of the bonds that ties our people to industrial slavery and permitting the welding of other bonds for their enslavement. No more can we accomplish emancipation from industrial slavery by meeting one issue raised by that enslavement and cringing before others, than it was possible to settle the struggle for emancipation from chattel slavery by demarking the territory in which the institution of slavery should and should not spread.

Of the several agencies made use of by the moneyed oligarchy for the enslavement of our people the two most important are our monetary and transportation systems. It will not do to reform the one, so that it will not serve those who seek to enrich themselves by preying upon the fruits of the other's toil, and not the other. To stop short with reforming our monetary system, with taking it out of the hands of those who seek to use it for their own enrichment and the impoverishment of the many, is to stop short of protecting our producing classes from despoilment, for they are despoiled through the agency of our transportation systems as effectually as they are despoiled through a dishonest monetary system. Therefore it will not suffice for those who seek to direct the struggle for the emancipation of our producing classes from the slavery of poverty, to tie themselves down to the issue raised by the abuse of our monetary system. The issue raised by the abuse of our transportation system must be equally met and the issues raised by the abuse of our protective tariff system, which has been made a monopoly tariff system; by our system of national taxation which throws an undue share of the burdens of government on the poor and by the usurpation of legislative and executive authority by the courts, in the interest of centralized capital, cannot be ignored.

The party that ties itself down to one issue involved in the emancipation of our producing classes from industrial slavery, when there are many, cannot be trusted with leadership, and it is down to one issue involved, and that one issue the silver question, which is in fact but a part of the monetary issue, that Mr. Bryan and others seek to tie the Democratic party. Thus led, the Democratic party cannot be trusted with leadership for it is unfitted to lead with success, unfitted to accomplish the emancipation of our producing classes even if crowned with authority, unfitted even as was the Whig Party under Henry Clay, to lead in the struggle for the emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery.

It may be that Mr. Bryan and other Democratic leaders who seek to tie the Democratic party down to the silver issue, and make the struggle for the new emancipation on that inadequate issue alone, are not blind to the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy on the rights and liberties of our producing classes

made through the arm of our transportation system and the industrial monopolies built up by the abuse of transportation facilities. It may be urged that the Democratic party entrusted with power, after a campaign narrowed down to the silver issue, would develop in office though failing to develop out, arise to the necessities of the occasion, combat the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy wherever and however made, preserve the industrious from despoilment through the medium of our transportation system as well as through our monetary system, bring about the national ownership of our transportation facilities and do whatever else was needed to bring about the emancipation of our people from industrial slavery.

Indeed it is said, "let us get into the saddle on the silver issue, and then we can take up the other issues." But the party led by men who lack the courage to avow their position on other great issues than the silver question, whose convictions on those questions are held so subservient to the thirst for power that they willingly stifle them, in the fear that announcement would interfere with dreams of self advancement, cannot be trusted in the saddle. Men who have not deep enough convictions on great questions to stand or fall by them when seeking office, cannot be trusted to stand unwaveringly by such convictions after election. Such men cannot command the confidence that makes successful leadership, are unfitted to lead in the great struggle for the emancipation of our people from industrial slavery, as unfitted as were similar men to lead in the old struggle for emancipation—emancipation from chattel slavery. There is chaos among those struggling for emancipation; and the men and party that can successfully lead must not cringe before this chaos, fearing that to take the bold and advanced positions demanded of leadership would lead to the wrecking of personal and party fortunes, but must give direction and force to the chaotic movement.

Among our producing classes who are deprived of an equality of opportunity by discriminations in transportation rates and facilities given by our railroads to clique ridden enterprises, trusts and combines; who are cursed by an inequality of burdens through an appreciating dollar; who are, by these means ground down to the poverty that keeps the wage earner in constant fear of dismissal and makes him the slave of his employer, there is an unrest and common wish and purpose to secure release from thralldom to the moneyed oligarchy that has been built up since the war on their impoverishment, but there is lacking that direction and unison of purpose that can alone give force to numbers, make felt the influence of the chaotic and unrestful forces seeking relief, and make possible the success of the struggle for emancipation from industrial slavery, a slavery built on unjust monetary and transportation systems that deprive men of the fruits of their toil.

To give direction to the chaotic forces longing to be freed from the drudgery of poverty, a drudgery entailed upon them through no fault of their own, save it be acquiescence in injustice that they have it in their power to remedy, is the task that lies before the leaders and party that would direct the movement for emancipation with success. And this task the Democratic party shuns, the leaders fearing to essay to lead the way out of chaos, fearing their leadership would not be followed, and so result in the defeat of the party. But if that leadership was not mistaken, and it would not be mistaken if grounded, not on a basis of expediency but upon convictions as to what was for the country's weal, not primarily for self and party, that leadership would be followed and what was undertaken with the unflinching purpose of serving the country without regard to dreams of personal or party victory would be found the best way of promoting both self and party advancement.

But there are weaknesses in men's characters, weaknesses in a party that make this true leadership impossible and success under the leadership that is offered impossible. And to these

weaknesses the leaders of the Democratic party, and so the Democratic party, have shown themselves to be a prey. Therefore it is that the Democratic party has shown itself incapable of giving direction and force to chaos and weakness, unfitted for leadership because its leaders seek to narrow down the new struggle for emancipation to one issue, to severing one bond of the new industrial slavery, to compromising that which is uncompromisable.

The Populist party has the force to give direction to the chaotic elements seeking emancipation, for it has the spirit of true leadership, a leadership that can be true only while directed, not for the attainment of personal or party victory, but for the advancement of principle without regard to personal ambitions, that can only be successful while the leaders stand ready to sacrifice self if avowal of conviction and steadfastness to principle demands it. If the Populist party makes of itself the vehicle for promoting personal ambition it cannot unify the forces that must be unified and directed if emancipation from the slavery of poverty, that now grinds down our producing classes, is to be attained. If it makes its first end the promotion of the interests of country, the uplifting of our aggrieved and down-trodden producing classes, and supports no leaders who will not lend themselves to this end, it can be this unifying force. Party successes and the advancement to positions of honor and trust of leaders who prove themselves true, leaders who do not cringe before the dangers and responsibilities of leadership as place seekers do, will come with such unifying of the forces, now looking longingly for emancipation, but such successes and such advancements must be the incidental aim of the party. Leaders must be put forward to serve ends of general and public policy not the aims of the party twisted so as to serve leaders. Pursuit of the low ideal of party will lead to defeat, pursuit of the high to success.

The opportunity to unify the chaotic forces struggling for emancipation stands before the Populist party. Let it seize that opportunity. To seize it, it has but to show itself worthy of leadership. It now stands without general leadership and rent with discord. To show itself worthy of leadership it must heal its discords, cast aside those would-be leaders who would have the Populist party serve them rather than they the party, and put forward a leader who will command respect and show himself worthy of confidence and leadership. This the Populist party cannot do too soon, for the time for unifying the forces struggling for emancipation from industrial slavery is now, and this unification cannot be accomplished without leadership. Before the Congressional campaign of 1898 opens the Populist party should heal its discords, take the position and make the declarations of principle that will give direction to chaos and put forward its leader. Before the Congressional conventions of 1898 the Populist party ought to hold a national convention and lay down the lines for the campaign, not only of 1898 but of 1900. By so doing it can make itself the unifying force in the struggle for emancipation from industrial slavery. Will it seize that opportunity?

LABOR'S FRUITLESS AND FRUITFUL VICTORIES.

THE promised settlement of the coal strike is a signal victory for organized labor. If the anticipated settlement is carried out, the miners will not have gained all that for which they struck, but two-thirds of the advance in wages demanded will be accorded them. And in view of the prevailing conditions of the coal trade, in view of the fact that the demand for coal is not sufficient to give employment for more than half the coal miners working on full time, that there have been and are more miners than work, that miners have competed with one another for work but that operators have not been under the necessity of competing with one another for workmen for some years, this is a signal victory. It is the reward of patience, sacrifice and

determination, but above all of the avoidance of riot or disorderly conduct, indeed of orderly submission to injustice and the preservation of the peace under the most trying circumstances, which has commanded public sympathy and support. The operators' calls upon the courts for assistance in keeping their men at work have not passed unheeded, the arm of the law has been invoked to reduce the miners who did not at first come out on strike to a state of virtual bondage to their employers, the courts have aggravated the danger of riot and disorder by forbidding the striking miners to hold speech and conference with the working miners and to exercise rights that our people have never surrendered to the government, national or state, and which never having been surrendered cannot rightly be assumed by the courts, but the strikers have maintained a self-control.

And this self-control of the strikers under such aggravating circumstances, has had its reward. It has called out public sympathy and not a little material support from outside the ranks of organized labor, for oppression is distasteful to the public and the very fact that the courts, the very tools of the people for the dispensation of justice, have lent the strong arm of government for the oppression of the strikers has served to align the public on the side of the strikers. So the tradesmen of Pittsburg and other towns, and the farmers in the vicinity of the storm centres of the strike have made very material contributions to the strikers. By so doing they could at least undo some of the injustice done to the strikers by their own servants, the courts.

So the strikers were sustained in their struggle, so did they succeed in spite of the handicaps under which they labored—despite the handicap of insufficiency of work for all coal miners made by the depression of the trade which made it necessary to align more men in the lines of the strikers than there was actually work for and despite the handicap raised by the courts. And now that the strikers have gained this victory, an advance in the price paid for mining of nearly 20 per cent., men are counting up the costs of the strike, measuring off the losses with the future gains.

Nine weeks has the strike lasted and for nine weeks have many of those who went on strike been idle, earning nothing. And from this it is assumed that the strike has cost these men nine weeks' labor, that the earnings they would have made during these nine weeks' have gone from them forever. But this is not a fair assumption. The strike has not materially affected the consumption of coal, and the fact that many mines have been closed down by the strike for nine weeks will not appreciably diminish their output of coal. In short, if there had been no strike the majority of these mines would have been working on short time, three or four days a week or even less, and continued so to work. The strike, however, has resulted in drawing down the supplies of coal, in orders for coal catching up and getting ahead of the supply, so that when the mines are now re-opened they do so with orders that will keep them working on full time for some weeks. Consequently all the idleness brought about by the strike cannot be charged up as loss to the miners, for the idleness during the past nine weeks of strike will mean less idleness during the next few weeks; instead of having work for but three days a week as they would have continued to have had if there had been no strike, they will have six days work a week during the next few weeks so that the strike has in great measure simply resulted in lumping the periods of idleness and employment.

It is indeed true that many orders for coal coming to the operators whose mines were closed down by the strike, and who, therefore, could not fill them, have been transferred to mines that have worked continuously during the strike and the filling of these orders has, of course, been lost to the strikers. But the greater part of the demand for coal that accumulated during the strike remains for the miners who went on strike to fill.

So the loss of labor and wages to the miners by the strike is

nothing like so great as men are prone to calculate. Wages lost by idleness during the strike will, in great measure, be made up by wages made by fuller employment after the strike. It is not the same as it would be if there was full employment for the coal miners, ample demand to absorb the full product of the mines, for then there would be no idle days which could be filled in with orders accumulating during the strike. If there were no idle days, if the mines were run to their fullest capacity, and nine weeks' idleness could not be made up, meaning a falling off in the output of coal, then every day of idleness during a strike would mean time and wages lost to the miners forever. But when the mines are not running full time and a falling off in output during the strike can be made up by increasing the output above normal production after the strike, the case is very different. The strikers only lose by the amount of orders received during the strike and transferred, because of such strike, to other operators.

But, though the victory of the strikers has not been so costly to the miners by far as some men would make it out, the broader question remains: Will the victory, now that it has been gained, be fruitful or otherwise; will it profit the miners, much or little? An advance in the rate of wages has been gained, a very material advance, but this advance has been granted by the operators, because of their belief that they can square themselves by restricting the output of coal so as to put up the price. And just to the degree that the output of coal is arbitrarily restricted, just so far as it must be restricted in order to advance the price to make good the advance of wages of ten or eleven cents a ton forced from the operators, just to that degree must the employment for coal miners, and of course their income, be reduced as the result of the strike. So the increase gained by an advance in the rate of wages may be, in a measure, lost by increased idleness, an increased idleness, resulting from the increase of wages and consequent increased price of coal and diminished demand and output.

It is not probable that the demand for coal will be much diminished by the raising of the price of coal because of the strike and therefore it is most likely that the miners will reap, in great part, the increase in income they anticipate from the raising of the mining rate. Yet it is only too obvious that there can come no general increase of income to wage earners from increasing prices by restricting production, for what is gained by increased wages must be lost by increased idleness. To increase prices without increasing the money in peoples' pockets is simply to diminish the quantity of produce they can buy in like ratio, there being no more money to spend for an article the demand for it must fall off just as it is increased in price, production must be curtailed and, though the advance in price would warrant an increase in the rate of wages, the curtailment in production would mean increased idleness and decreased income to the wage earner on this score. So, from a general increase in prices and of wages resting upon curtailment of production wage earners can profit nothing. In special cases they may profit, for in articles of prime necessity an advance in prices and wages can be forced without materially restricting production, so that the wage earner will gain more in increased wages than he will lose from increased idleness. But this gain thus made in a favored trade must be purchased at an equal loss to the wage earners in some less favored trade. In short the wage earner cannot profit from an artificial raising of prices.

Cuts in wages are of two kinds, first those forced by the employer to increase his profits at the wage earner's expense, and second those the employer is forced to make by falling prices and in order to continue production. Cuts of the first kind can be remedied by organization among wage earners to refuse to work at such cut rates, at least can be remedied if the organization can be made so effective as to make it impossible to employ hands at the reduced rates. As the employer makes cuts of this kind not

because he can not make profits while paying old rates but because he deems it possible to increase his profits by cutting wages, self interest will impel him to restore the old rate of wages when he finds it impossible to get hands at lower rates. But cuts of the second kind, cuts forced upon employers by the wiping out of profits and by the impossibility of avoiding losses in production by other means than wage reductions cannot be remedied by organized labor, cannot be remedied by the strike, for employers cannot be forced to pay more than they can afford, cannot be coerced into paying the wages demanded by their workmen when they would rather close their plants than pay the wages demanded.

And cuts in wages of this latter kind, that is cuts in wages forced by falling prices, there are many. Many manufacturers to-day, to say nothing of farmers, find no profit in production and cannot afford to pay higher wages, and the struggle of organized labor with such employers for an advance in wages must be fruitless. If, indeed, the organization can be made so complete as to affect the greater number of employers in a certain line of production and tie up production sufficiently to cause a rise in prices, then it will be made possible for employers to give employment, on a limited scale, at advanced wages, and then organized labor may gain the outward indications of victory, but such victory must be fruitless for just what is gained in increased wages will be lost in decreased employment.

So it is that we have to record fruitless victories for labor, victories that bring no betterment of conditions, no increase of comforts. Victories that are fruitful and profit the wage earner much are also gained, for many employers seek to avail of the great army of the unemployed to force down wages, not because they have to, not because they are not reaping fair profits, but because they see the chance of reaping larger profits. And when organization among the workmen of such employers can be made so effective and the influence exerted so potent as to prevail upon the idle to refuse to lend themselves to such employers to press down wages, substantial victories can be gained by labor, for, as we have said, self-interest will impel such employers to forego their efforts to depress wages rather than to cease production.

But distinction should be drawn between cuts of wages of these different kinds, between cuts in wages that the employer is not forced to make and cuts in wages he is forced to make in order to continue production. The struggle of organized labor with the former may be fruitful, will be fruitful if successful; the struggle with the latter must be fruitless, fruitless even if successful.

Thus it is that the power of organized labor to benefit the wage earner through the strike is much limited, it can benefit only those laborers who are oppressed by employers, those wage earners whose employers strive to prey upon the fruits of their toil. Those laborers who are oppressed not by their employers but are oppressed equally with their employers by conditions that make industry unprofitable cannot be protected by organized labor. And these adverse conditions to honest industry, conditions arising out of an appreciating dollar that taxes the producing classes, taking from employers and wage earners an unjust share of the wealth produced and giving it to the drones of society, arising out of discrimination in freight rates that make the profits of legitimate industry uncertain, subject to the whims of the cliques controlling the transportation companies who can wreck industries by their frown and build them up by their smile, cannot be remedied by organized labor working through the weapon of the strike. They can be remedied only through political action.

Therefore the need of organized labor extending its scope beyond the economic and into the political sphere. When the root of labor oppression lies in the purely economic field, that is where the oppression is chargeable to employers seeking to secure to themselves an undue share of the wealth produced by labor

under their direction; such oppression can be fought successfully by the weapon of the strike, but when the root of the oppression lies in the field of politics, is chargeable to governmental policies that bear on employer as well as wage earner, such oppression must be fought in the field of politics, for as release from such oppression can only be attained by the reversal of those baneful policies it can only be fought successfully in that field. This distinction between conditions under which oppression can be fought successfully by the strike and under which it cannot should be kept clearly in mind. Until it is, and until it is acted upon, we will have futile labor struggles as well as successful ones, we will even have fruitless labor victories as well as fruitful ones.

INDIA AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

FAMINE and impoverishment making necessary the remission of taxes to no inconsiderable extent thus leading to a curtailment of revenues to the Indian Government, and the extraordinary expenditures called for on account of the general rising on the north-western frontier of India have diminished the resources of the Indian treasury to an extent that raises a grave doubt as to the ability of the Indian Government to meet its payments in London without borrowing. The Indian Government is socialistic, it has built the great irrigation works and constructed and operates the railroads. For the building and construction of these great public works, and others of a lesser nature, the Indian Government has borrowed largely in London, just as we have borrowed in London for the construction of our railroads, the only difference being that we have borrowed money on the credit, often bad, of our railroads, and India on the credit of the government, with the result that we have paid dearer for what we have borrowed than India.

Thus has the Indian Government gone into debt in London to an extent that requires the making of provision to meet an annual charge as interest, etc., of about £16,000,000, say, \$80,000,000 payable in gold. It has been the custom of the Indian Council, sitting in London, and directing the fiscal policy of the Indian Empire from that distance, to make this provision by drawing drafts on the Indian Treasury and selling those drafts on the London market for gold or its equivalent, which in turn becomes available for the meeting of the interest charges on the Indian debt. The drafts thus drawn on Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and payable in silver rupees have found a ready market among British importers of Indian produce having need of remittances in payment and the silver rupees for the payment of these drafts have of course been raised by taxation. In this way have the silver rupees of India been made available for the meeting of gold charges in London.

But the time now comes when the number of silver rupees raised by the Indian Government by taxation have fallen off owing to the famine and resulting impoverishment of the Indian taxpayer while the number of rupees that have to be expended by the government in India have been greatly increased by the uprising on the Afghan frontier, with the result that no rupees remain in the Indian treasury available for the payment of Council drafts. So the issue of these drafts has been suspended, and British importers of Indian produce, thus deprived of customary means of remittance in payment, compete among one another with more than usual intensity for bills drawn against exports of produce to India. And as there are not enough of such bills to go round the rate of exchange on India is forced upward and approaches the point at which exports of gold can be made to India at a profit.

So it is that the action of the Indian Council in suspending the issue of Council bills is taken as an indication of a purpose to force the export of gold to India and as presaging the early

adoption of the gold standard by India. But the action taken by the Indian Council presages no such thing. It presages, on the contrary, large purchases and coinages of silver on account of the Indian Government. There is evidence that the Indian Government is already making purchases of silver in anticipation of the demand for new rupees that is likely to follow the recent action of the Indian Council and is sure to follow if that action keeps up the rate of exchange on India to 16 pence, that is, lifts the price that must be paid in London for exchange on India to the rate of 16 pence a rupee. If exchange keeps above that rate it will be cheaper for the trader with remittances to make to India to send gold.

As all debts are payable in India in silver rupees it may be asked what use can be made of gold in the payment of debts after it is sent to India? If that gold was not convertible into silver rupees it would be worthless, but at the rate of one rupee for 16 pence worth of gold the Indian Government stands ready to exchange any amount of silver for gold. And so it is that gold can readily be used for the payment of debts in India at the rate of 16 pence for one rupee. At this rate gold can be virtually used in India as money, at a higher price it can only be used in the payment of debts as merchandise.

This exchanging of rupees for gold at the rate of one rupee for 16 pence of gold, or 15 rupees for one pound sterling, would be a very profitable operation for the Indian Government for, at the present price of silver, 25 pence an ounce, one pound sterling in gold will purchase enough silver to coin 28 rupees, and as one pound sterling in gold must be paid for 15 rupees in silver, this would leave a profit of 13 rupees to the Indian Government on each pound sterling of gold offered at the Indian mints in exchange for rupees. This would be a very easy way of meeting the extraordinary expenditures that now confront the Indian Government.

Of course the demand on the Indian Government for rupees in exchange for gold at this rate must be limited by the needs of British merchants for remittances to India and their inability to supply these needs at a cheaper rate by the purchase of bills of exchange in the London market. Obviously, if a bill of exchange can be bought on India at a less rate than 16 pence a rupee no man will export gold to India when that gold can only be exchanged in India at the rate of one rupee for 16 pence. But as the balance of trade lies chronically in India's favor, that is, as India sells more than she buys, there must be a constant deficiency of bills drawn on India in the absence of Council bills, for it is evident the bills drawn on India and representing the indebtedness of India on account of purchases of merchandise will not equal the demands for remittances to India and representing indebtedness incurred on account of purchases from India. Therefore, so long as the Indian Council has no bills to offer for sale, it is quite probable that there will be a steady and considerable demand upon the Indian Government for rupees in exchange for gold. And as long as this continues the Indian Government must continue in the market as a purchaser of silver. As we have said, there are already indications of purchases of silver on Indian account, exchange having risen 1-16 of a penny above the point at which the exchange of gold for rupees can be made without loss. Indeed it is to such purchases that the slight recovery in the price of silver from its recent low level is attributable. If these purchases continue silver is very likely to make a further and quite marked recovery.

But though, as the result of the action of the Indian Council, in suspending the sale of Council bills, there is every probability of a considerable demand upon the Indian Government for rupees in exchange for gold, it does not follow by any means that gold will be sent to India in large volume. The Indian Council, shut off from drawing bills on India by the lack of rupees to meet such bills, must make provision for the accumulation of a gold credit in London, for the payment of the interest charges on the Indian

debt, in some other way. Therefore, what more natural than for the Indian Council, instead of requiring the export of gold to India to be there exchanged for silver rupees, the silver for the coinage of which would have to be purchased in London, to receive gold sovereigns in London, invest so much of these sovereigns in silver in London as might be required to provide rupees for exchange at the rate of fifteen rupees for one pound sterling, send that silver to India, have it coined and issued in India to the merchants depositing gold in London and with payments to make in India, and keep the balance of the gold not required for the purchase of silver, in London, for the meeting of the accumulating interest charges. And this balance would be very considerable. With silver costing 25 pence an ounce, this balance would be 9 shillings and 3 pence on every pound sterling of gold deposited, nearly 50 per cent.

That the means of meeting the interest payments of India in London, or even half of them, could be provided in this way is quite improbable, for as we have said there is a limit to the exchange of gold for rupees, a limit placed by the excess of exports from India over imports and by which excess the bills drawn against exports to India must fall short of meeting the commercial indebtedness of the world to India. And in the absence of Council bills, which are the means of offsetting part of the commercial debt of the world to India by India's indebtedness to London incurred on account of interest charges on money borrowed from Great Britain by India, this commercial indebtedness must be met by the sending of gold directly to India and exchanging it for rupees, or by the deposit of gold with the Indian Council in London and the issue of silver rupees in exchange for it in India which amounts to the same thing. This latter course would not fill the coffers of the Indian Government with the profits of silver coinage, but it would provide a means of meeting some of the interest on India's debt piling up in London.

But as these profits cannot be depended upon to meet the whole of the interest charges, the Indian Council will have to look to other means for providing for this indebtedness, and this means can be found only in borrowing. An Indian gold loan of \$12,500,000 has already been advertised and further loans we will surely have, unless Indian revenues soon pick up sufficiently to warrant the Indian Council in resuming the issue and sale of Council bills. The Indian Council has already exercised the authority it possesses for making a small loan and further authority it may have to seek. In the making of such a loan we have an interest, for the offering of such a loan on the London market must make a demand for gold that will make the London bankers more disinclined than ever to let us have gold in settlement for our large exports of breadstuffs and cotton now going forward in large volume.

That the revenues of the Indian Government will pick up is very probable, for with the harvesting of new crops the abject poverty engendered by the famine of last winter is passing away, but with the increase of revenues has come an increase of expenditures, consequent on the military operations against the tribesmen on the north-western borders, who threaten the peace of the Indian Empire, so that the prospects of the revenues increasing sufficiently in the near future, so as to warrant the Indian Council in resuming the issue of Council bills, are not the brightest. Besides, there is an unrest in India that doubtless gives the Indian Council concern and warns it against stripping the Indian Government of its resources. To do so might, in the event of not improbable revolt, so weaken the hands of the government as to give the movement impetus and imperil British rule in India. And to avoid the issue of a gold loan in London to enable the Indian Government to meet its interest charges, the Indian Council is not likely to run such risks.

The unrest in India is real and apparent. It is the legacy left to the Indian Government by the famine. Yet not the

famine but the closing of the Indian mints is the foundation of this unrest. The Indian people are awakening to the fact that the closing of the Indian mints defrauded them of half their savings. As they awakened to this fact they became indignant, resentful, especially so as many awakened to the fact only when confronted with famine, and when inability to realize on their savings meant for them suffering and starvation. How many lives would have been saved in India if the famine-stricken Indians could have converted their hoards of silver into coined rupees, weight for weight, as they had always done in past crises and as they counted upon doing in this last, can never be summed up. But that even in the famine districts food did not command famine prices, that food supplies were not wanting, and that the mere pittance of two cents a day in our money, or one-sixteenth of a rupee, would have purchased sufficient rice or millet for the sufferers whose crops had failed, to sustain life, and that hundreds starved because too poor to pay even this small pittance we do know. Therefore, a hoard of ten rupees would have carried a sufferer through a siege of five months, and when we further know that the total savings of a family in India are often less than fifty rupees, when we know that they have ever kept those savings as ornaments, and that when they came to convert those ornaments into rupees last winter in their hour of dire need, they could get for their silver ornaments not half, often not a third, of the number of rupees that they had saved and melted down into ornaments, as is their custom, we can form some realization of the dire disasters inflicted on the Indian by the closing of the Indian mints.

A hoard of fifty rupees weight of silver, possessed by many a family, would have enabled the members to secure the food to stave off famine, if that hoard could have been reconverted into fifty rupees as the Indian believed it could when he saved it, but when that hoard could be exchanged for but twenty-five or eighteen rupees the family that put confident reliance on it was brought face to face with starvation. No wonder the Indian has laid his sufferings at the door of the Indian Government, no wonder that his hatred for his alien ruler has doubled since he has found that ruler has defrauded him out of half of his earnings, no wonder he is indignant, and that unrest is widespread.

And as yet there are but few of the Indian people, even of the better off, who have learned that the Indian Government has defrauded them of a great part of their savings that they confidently put away as silver ornaments in the belief that they could convert such ornaments into rupees, weight for weight, and thus realize on their savings whenever occasion required. In ignorance of the closing of the mints, the Indians are still putting away their savings as ornaments, melting down the rupees they save in blissful ignorance of the fact that every time they melt down a rupee it loses half of its value. When they awaken to the truth there will be a wrathful reckoning.

Mr. Moreton Frewen tells us that probably not 2,000,000 people out of India's 300,000,000 are even yet aware that the Indian mints are closed at all and he cites this instance of a case reported by a native banker to Mr. Forbes Mitchell, a Calcutta merchant of forty years standing, as showing that even the large land-owners are not aware of the closing of the Indian mints:

"Last jute season I had to visit Mymensing in connection with the business of my firm, and I made the acquaintance of one land-owner who had realized Rs. 35,000 for his crop of jute, and only the day before he had converted Rs. 15,000 from the Calcutta Mint into ornaments and household utensils. When I pointed out the loss he had unwittingly incurred through his ignorance of the effect of the altered state of the law, you can imagine his surprise and indignation against the government. The closing of the mints has been an excellent thing for Anglo-Indians and their home remittances but it has been a serious matter for the starving millions of India."

If England would keep India let her do justice by the people she rules. Let her protect their savings by re-opening the mints to free silver coinage.

WORDS OF WISDOM.

THE feuds of Ghibelline and Guelph
Divide the suffrage of the world,
But courage draws men to itself
Whatever pennant is unfurl'd.—J. E. Nesmith.

When in doubt, don't talk.

Everything is impracticable till it is put in practice.

Principles must stand upon their own merits, and if they are good they certainly will.—Thomas Paine.

In every country the nation is in the cottage, and if the light of your legislation does not shine in there, your statemanship is a failure and your system is a mistake.—Canon Farrar.

The silver men have not a monopoly of the 16 to 1 doctrine. The gold men have been preaching and putting it into practice for years, in this way:

Sixteen competing railroads turned into one gigantic pool.

Sixteen competing factories turned into one mammoth trust.

Sixteen flourishing local stores turned into one huge department store.

These are the legitimate progeny of gold monometallism.

As soon as a man is down there are plenty to triumph over him; the hare can sport with the beard of a dead lion.—C. H. Spurgeon.

Success makes a fool seem wise.

Woman is seldom merciful to the man who is timid.—Edward Bulwer Lytton.

A woman should never accept a lover without the consent of her heart nor a husband without the consent of her judgment.—Ninon de Lenclos.

A life that accords with the moral law, which everybody, even the humblest and least intelligent man, understands, will result in health for body and soul alike.

The most cruel animal in the world is one that kills other animals simply for the pleasure it gets from killing them. It is a biped, or two legged animal and is called man.

What a vast proportion of our lives is spent in anxious and useless forebodings concerning the future—either our own or that of our dear ones! Present joys, present blessings slip by, and we miss half their sweet flavor, and all for want of faith in Him who provides for the tiniest insect in the sunbeam. O when shall we learn the sweet trust in God that our little children teach us every day by their confiding faith in us—we who are so mutable, so faulty, so irritable, so unjust, and He who is so watchful, so pitiful, so loving, so forgiving? Why cannot we, slipping our hand into His each day, walk trustingly over that day's appointed path, thorny or flowery, crooked or straight, knowing that evening will bring us sleep, peace, and home?—Phillips Brooks.

National Encampment Union Veteran Legion, Columbus, O.

The Baltimore & Ohio R. R. announces reduced rates from all points on its line east of the Ohio River for the National Encampment of the Union Veteran Legion, at Columbus, Ohio, September 22d and 23d. The tickets will be sold for all trains September 19th to 21st, valid for return until September 27th.

By taking the historic B. & O., an additional interest will be added to the trip, as that line follows the banks of the storied Potomac for many miles, passing through the City of Washington, Harper's Ferry, Point of Rocks and Cumberland. In addition to the interest attached to the locality, the scenery in this region is the grandest on the Continent.

Through trains run direct to Columbus, carrying Pullman sleeping cars.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPRESS, CATHARINE II. OF RUSSIA.
By K. Waliszewski. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

Whether studied as a woman or as a monarch, there is no blinking one's eyes to the fact that Catherine was extraordinarily gifted with that fortunate combination of qualities which make a character great. Of themselves they cannot always, if ever, create opportunity, and without opportunity greatness has to dwell, snail-like, in a rather insignificant shell. Their genius shows in the dexterous way the first small opening is widened, until the breach that only admits the sword arm of the solitary leader soon grows great enough to serve as a triumphal arch for a conquering army to pass through. The outlook for the girl Sophia Augusta, princess of the comic-opera principedom of Anhalt-Zerbst, was as unpromising as could well be, even after she was betrothed, at fifteen, to Grand Duke Peter, of Holstein-Gotthorp. So it continued for the first years of her marriage, at sixteen, to that semi-idiot and complete blackguard, her senior by one year, and her inferior in every mental and bodily quality. His aunt, Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, had chosen Peter, "the little devil," as he was called in the family, to be her successor to the throne. In 1742 she had his heirship solemnly proclaimed. As Frederick the Great declined to give his sister in marriage to Peter, as Elizabeth wished, he recommended the pretty daughter of the pauper prince who was Major General in his army. They had known each other as children of ten and eleven, and, as Sophia was bright as well as pretty, Peter was nothing loth in taking the wife so assigned to him. Here, in the loutishness of this Peter Simple lay the opportunity, the dazzling possibilities of which were invisible to all eyes but those of this gifted girl-seer. She owed little of her level-headed genius to her parents. So little that, in the singular absence of the usual official birth records, legends cropped up tracing her paternity to the great Frederick himself, among other probabilities. These are matters that cannot be decided, especially in so loose an age, statistically and otherwise. Sophia was brought up strictly, and if she found the moral harness irksome in after years, the discipline strengthened her naturally forceful mind. She was born in 1729, and became the wife of the Grand Duke Peter in 1745. The vision of a Tsarina's wealth and power would have turned the head of any other girl, then or now. To be the pet of a court and people, the child-wife of a weak ruler, whom she could make her slave, this would be the ideal of bliss for many a poor princess even of these enlightened times. Perhaps it was hers to some extent and for a little time. She quickly improved upon it. A short experience as Grand Duchess developed her strong individuality. Her father implored her not to forsake the Lutheran faith of her childhood; she saw the higher policy of merging the German as much as possible in the Russian, to which dutiful end she took instruction in the doctrine of the Greek Church and was baptized into it with the given name of Catherine, before the marriage. She paced her cold bedroom barefoot, in the dead of night, mastering the language. A deadly fever punished this rash enthusiasm, and she was bled sixteen times in twenty-seven days. When near death her mother sent for the Protestant minister, but Catherine would have none but the Greek Church Father. These things endeared her to the Russians, and embittered them still more against her too German mother. In this wave of popular goodwill the marriage was celebrated; the religious ceremony lasted from ten in the morning until four o'clock. That was none too long, seeing that it had to suffice as the sole haven of piety for the remaining fifty-two years of her life.

The second education of Catherine, as the author terms it, began after marriage, no exceptional experience this, but unique in some features. The author draws here, and all through his work, on state documents that have come to light in recent years. Grand Duke Peter had little oddities, clearly inherited from the Great Peter, which led to the appointment by his aunt of a "person of distinction" as constant companion, whose instructions, as now translated, were to prevent his highness emptying his drinking glasses on the faces of the servants at table, to stop his habit of obscenity in speech and action when visitors were introduced, and curb his trick of making grimaces and contortions in public. He got drunk every day, his main occupation was with a marionette theatre, or with the kennel of dogs and trained rats which he established in the room adjoining Catherine's bed-chamber. Her masculine temperament, that had pulled her through all that blood-letting safe and sound, scorned the idea of heart-break or any such womanly weakness.

She would slip on a suit of man's clothes, take guns and fishing-rods and hie away for a day's hardy sport in the company of an old servant. She rode astride the saddle, and invented, perhaps, the original divided skirt for that purpose, to escape observation on returning after excursions, started on the side-saddle, with the ladies of the court. Adventures of a different order were inevitable after an apprenticeship of this sort. Catherine was everybody's favorite, she was a student of the French philosophy of the day, a shrewd balancer of worldly *pros* and *cons*, and made short work of whatever scruples may have momentarily halted her resolve to go her own way as freely as her husband went his. When it comes to this, woe betide the weak man mated to a handsome woman of boundless ambition. The team that started to run abreast soon changed to tandem, Catherine leading. In that licentious age the Russian court was notorious for the semi-barbaric grossness of its tone. Catherine's constitutional tendency allowed her to fall an easy prey to the temptations of a position which an anchorite might fail in resisting. Court intrigue was the fashionable epidemic. The young Grand Duchess took it early and spread it wide. The Empress herself set the pace in every form of profligacy. For a few years this was the apparent drift of court affairs. Beneath the surface Catherine was plodding away at making foundations for her fixed ambition. She had been ten years a wife before Paul, the eldest son was born, whom she hated and kept under strict surveillance till her death. The paternity of her children gave Catherine no official concern. Ten years' experience had given an edge to her lust for power over masses and individuals. The favors she showed to a long succession of the finest looking of her soldiers and courtiers were shrewdly calculated to yield substantial gains in the grand enterprise of her ambition. It was anything but a case of weak infatuation with a passing flame. As the author puts it, "she entered definitely, blindly, on a path which was to lead to the most colossal and cynical display of imperial license known to modern history, but she did not allow herself to become absorbed in it." Therefore it was not blindly entered upon.

Catherine was an exceedingly wide-awake woman of the world when, in 1762, at the age of thirty-three she became Tsarina. Peter, as a Tsar, was beneath contempt, was an impossibility at best, as his earliest acts showed. His intended reforms were blunders in the right direction, but in his German idolatry of Frederick he outraged Russian national sentiment by insisting on a premature peace, giving back all that had been won in the seven years war, returning all the Prussian prisoners and concluding an alliance with their foe. Not satisfied with antagonizing the national Church, Peter turned the army against himself by introducing the Prussian uniform and severe discipline. He stung his proud wife to the quick by forcing her to bestow a coveted decoration upon one of his mistresses. Catherine saw her crowning chance now. Her favorite at the time, Gregory Orloff, eldest of five brothers, officers in the Guards, handsome giants all, was only too willing to carry out Catherine's bold design of ousting Peter from the throne. Within half a year it was done. The crisis came sooner than expected, but Catherine was not one to wince at danger. Their plot was betrayed; she was wakened one morning by Orloff with the news. She dressed in haste, they drove twenty miles at break-neck speed to the capital and faced the doubtful regiments still loyal to their master. "Three cheers for the Empress!" shouted a quick-witted officer. The cry worked like magic, the revolution was over before the responsive cheer died away. The mob went frantic with delight, an eager priest proclaimed Catherine sole ruler. The rest was mere ratification, with a few swift stampings out of powerless malcontents. Peter was found strangled to death within a week by the hand of an Orloff.

A thirty-four years reign of such a woman in such a land and fighting times cannot even be outlined briefly. This book covers a multitude of new as well as old facts giving an exceptional historical value to its picture of the most remarkable empress of modern times, and it is well worth study on this account. The author makes it doubly difficult, more's the pity, by his disjointed style of narration, anticipating crises and items of special interest and obscuring dates. The pieces of distinct writing are good individually, but are inartistically put together, giving a confused impression and sending the reader back again and again for references. No book has greater need of an index, and it is surprising that so eminent a publishing house should fail to make one. How Catherine the Second set herself to extend the borders of her empire, how she made her favorite, Poniatowski, King of Poland, how she triumphed in wars against Turkey, destroying its fleet and annexing the Crimea, how she suppressed home rebellions, seized two-thirds of Poland, exterminated the Tartars

of Southern Russia, once more subdued the Turks and enlarged her frontiers, and how, in 1795, she crushed the heart of Poland, all these mighty acts, are they not chronicled in the school histories we so blankly fail to remember? At home Catherine honestly tried to institute a model government on the cut and dried plan of her esteemed French philosophers. If the effort failed in civilized France it was a foregone impracticability for Russia. Corruption ran riot in official and social circles. Catherine herself, with all her monarchical merits—for she had many and great ones—was not the model of a reformer to win the homage of a virtuous people. The whole carcass was putrid. She gave to her long procession of lovers, not only place and power while they enjoyed her favor, but one hundred million dollars of the sore-taxed people's money to support them in luxury after she discarded them. The French revolution put her out of conceit with reform. She refused to receive Benjamin Franklin. At last she prohibited the circulation of the books of the philosophers she had honestly tried to follow in practice. "Her fixed ideas (says our author), which she often had, were only so for the moment; they were comets, not the guiding stars of her life." This is a truly French conception of fixity, but it is fair to acknowledge the consistently Russian nationalism that runs through all Catherine's aims and efforts. She was a prolific writer, so that much of what we know comes from her own pen.

"To tell the truth (she writes) I have never fancied myself extremely beautiful, but I had the gift of pleasing, and that, I think, was my greatest gift." She is described by those who saw most of her as a comely woman of German type, dark hair worn off her forehead, adding a commanding and somewhat mannish air to much natural grace, and though she was under the middle height she seemed tall by reason of her dignified carriage. She was very kind to her servants, thanked them for every service and often saved them trouble, yet when a lackey who was courting one of her maids caused a disturbance that frightened the household one midnight, Catherine sanctioned the punishment of a hundred strokes of the knout, after which the wretch was to have his nose slit, his forehead branded, and end his days in Siberia. Several political assassinations are laid at her door. She drank coffee of the strength of five cups to the pound. The sovereign's will was absolute, none dreamt of disobeying her wildest whim. An English banker, Sutherland, was waited on one day by the chief of the St. Petersburg police, who, in pitiable consternation, informed the foreigner that his commands were to take him and have him *stuffed* right away. The tears had not ceased flowing from the humane but sternly obedient officer when a messenger brought the explanation that it was not Mr. Sutherland, but a favorite dead dog of a similar sounding name which her majesty wished stuffed. The older she grew the younger were her favorites, the latest couple being twenty-two when she was sixty-six. Here are one or two of her written thoughts: "Do you know why I dread kings' visits? Because they are generally tiresome, insipid people, and you have to be so stiff and formal with them." "I do not like to see Marie Antoinette laugh so much, and laugh at everything. It is true she is a woman, and very much a woman; I am too, somewhat; in her place and circumstances I should be afraid that someone would say, He who laughs last laughs best." "England! Fanaticism built it, fanaticism supports it, fanaticism will destroy it." "To gain a victory is nothing; land is something; money everything." "The rich have an astonishing power over humankind, since kings themselves end by respecting those who have made money." Catherine died of apoplexy in 1796, in her sixty-seventh year. The world has now no room for another such brilliant sceptred virago.

CALAMUS. Letters by Walt Whitman. Boston; Laurens Maynard. \$1

When the question is asked, Who is our most American poet? a loud claim is put in by a small band for Whitman, on the score of his Americanness. If America is the untilled, boundless, breezy prairie and the American a blanketed denizen of the borderland between the old and the new, there is something in the claim. There was bound to be a certain fascination in a stentorian voice crying from the wilderness, aping the mystic grandeur of the Hebrew prophets in the accents of a peanut vendor with a turn for fine language. Whitman was the newest thing out in the poet department when Emerson, the *pro tem.* unphilosopher, greeted him "at the beginning of a great career." Just as bejewelled ladies take an occasional fancy to lavishing endearments on some dirty little ragamuffin of the gutter, so was Whitman's first characteristic book patted condescendingly on

the head by self-supposed *illuminati*, and then by the straggling crowd who are proud to step in the wake of the knowing ones, and then by the mere curiosity mongers. "Leaves of Grass," written in pure, or impure, Whitmanese, got a footing by eccentricity rather than by solid qualities. Like Carlyle, Whitman had first failed to win notice as a writer of simple English. Unable to compose musical verse, or poetical prose, he Barnumized a set of very primitive and universal ideas into a mixture of verse form and prose substance, to catch the eye if it missed the ear, and by infusing it with an egotism so ridiculous that it verged on the sublime, it naturally "caught on." We were rather struck with the boldness of the cleaner phrasing, even when there was little in it, and its unclean pages commended Whitman's verses to the large class who gloat over dirt for its own sake. Between the two groups he did a roaring trade, adding as an art premium his picturesque individuality as the Inspired Loafer. The new line of business thus established, and the novelty of the wares getting stale, sundry secret virtues were boomed up by the voluble phalanx of drummers, and the public began to criticise before they would buy. If a finger pointed to soiled pages a vigorous denial was set up; what seemed like dirt was really virgin gold unsullied by the vulgar art of the refiner; dross, rightly viewed, is as much a gift of nature as yellow metal; to the pure all things are pure, and, to the esoteric Whitmaniac, things are not what they seem, if beheld with the true poet's eye.

Doctors differ in poetry as in physic, as we shall see in a moment. The beauty of it is, in the dispensing of both, that he who sticks to what the old herbalists used to call "simples," is sure to make a reputation for profound knowledge. Browning is king of obscurity, but he somewhere says something like this:

"It's better to be good than bad,
It's better to be sane than mad."

We do not pin our memory to the literal, but the lines enclosing these, figured recently as the motto in large print of a literary weekly of high repute. As so great a poet as Browning uttered this sublime truism it will strike half the world as marvel of new intellectual discernment. Our popular quotations are mostly commonplaces, which shows that the surest secret of fame is to wrap threadbare notions in either an elaborately involved web of verbiage, or in a defiantly bald platitude, as this of Browning's, but it takes a bold man, like himself or Whitman, to risk this. But it is time to compare the critics. These are some of the things written by Whitman's English admirers, twenty-five years ago and three thousand miles from Camden. Swinburne hailed him as "a strong-winged soul with prophetic lips hot with the blood-beats of song," and the pity is that the author of this flaming phrase has since simmered down to about zero. John Addington Symonds remained true till death. Ruskin honored Whitman's power; Rossetti considered Whitman one of the greatest poets of the world; Edwin Arnold, William Watson, and a few others still reckon Whitman an original. But they are careful to avoid approving his artistic methods, or the lack of them. A man may blow blood-curdling blasts out of a battered trombone but it will not be music. Yet there is no denying the right of anyone to work himself enthusiastic over the grandly unconventional sounds which are so superior to melody inasmuch as they are music in the abstract. There is a great deal to be said for the bray of a lusty jackass as compared with the cultured vocalisms of a parrot, but the majority vote, alas, is prone to go with the soaring lark as he "sings hymns at heaven's gate." John Burroughs is Whitman's doughtiest American champion among men of light and leading, and he admits his poet-hero is a wild man of the woods, but in this he glories. "His wildness is only the wildness of the great primary forces from which we draw our health and strength." See how neatly this kind of lofty talk can be fitted to quite opposite conditions, say the Browning poetry just quoted. "His tameness is only the tameness of the great primary platitudes from which we draw our small change of daily twaddle-talk." Lesser champions of Whitman, who pay him the homage of imitation in a Philadelphia journal, *The Conservator*, assure us that "in Whitman the intellectual was subordinated to something greater, (namely) the subconscious nature of the soul." Working this backwards it would seem that it is indeed a task to understand "the good, gray poet," if we have first to know the soul, then get the mastery of nature, and having managed so far, we have to subordinate our intellects to the depths of the subconscious, wherever that may be. Other American critics, Maurice Thompson, for instance, himself a polished poetical writer with the lyric instinct, urges that however picturesque Whitman may be, by nature or artifice, his poetry must be judged by its merits

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Hudson, - - New York.



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and by these it sinks to the humblest place as poetry. "If he was a great poet, there has never been another, if he was a great artist, none went before him, none has come after, if he was a great thinker, he was the first one and the last. He had the poetic sense, and his deep ignorance would not have hindered him as a free and easy lyricist, but he deliberately set out to be queer and loose and to make poetry out of queerness and looseness. Many a man before him had demonstrated the impossibility of premeditated originality." In his generous essay, Mr. Stedman treats Whitman as a true and original poet, "his surest hold is an American poet," with many limitations of thought and style, who will live in the future as one of the curiosities of the period. Dr. Bucke, the literary executor who writes the introduction to this little book, pitches his praise of the poet in the key of sheer idolatry. He calls him "the gray redeemer" of the race. He details "a short and commonplace interview" with Whitman, and sums up in these words, "it would be nothing more than the simple truth to state that I was, by it, lifted to and set upon a higher plane of existence, upon which I have more or less continually lived ever since, that is, for a period of eighteen years." If the admittedly commonplace chat of a reserved man, who wrote that his life had not been drawn out by love for comrades, for he had none, for which reason he put his love for them into his poems, if his talk had such mesmeric influence on Dr. Bucke, it proves the susceptibility of Dr. Bucke to emanations of "the subconscious nature of the soul" distinct from Whitman's verse, which ordinary folks can only judge by the canons of art and the power of its thought. We get from the poets pretty much what we take to them; if our faith is great, great is its reward; but if we apply intellect, or artistic perception, to Whitman, we find he has "subordinated" the former to the subconscious, and the latter to the non-conscious. "Calamus" might as fitly have been entitled "Calamitous," for anything more certain to repel and disgust unprejudiced experimenters in Whitmanism would be hard to conceive. In their eagerness to push their idol and his works into publicity of any sort, those responsible for raking up these stale dregs of writings he never dreamed of printing are guilty of iconoclasm, none the less damaging because "subconscious." Twenty odd years ago Whitman used to loaf and invite his soul with a young fellow born in 1847, a car conductor, with whom the queer poet struck up a platonic friendship and spread it thickly over the letters that fill this volume. They are as commonplace as can be imagined, the correspondence of an illiterate vulgarian, to put it bluntly, but as they were perhaps adapted to the recipient's mode of speech they are protected from criticism on that score. Not so the issuers of the book, which is sickled all over with the poet's endearments for this young man of twenty to thirty, whom he calls "my darling," "here is a kiss for dear, dear Pete, on the paper here, a good long one," and suchlike, *ad nauseam*. Howells puts it that Whitman "seems to have exhausted the resources of formlessness" in his verse. In these wishy-washy prose letters he will exhaust the patience of self-respecting readers by his soundings of the depths of inanity and nastiness.

KLONDYKE, THE LAND OF GOLD. By C. F. Stansbury. New York, F. T. Neely. 25 cents.

So far as information can be reliably given by an ignoramus it is here proffered. The industrious compiler frankly states that knowing nothing of the subject first-hand, he sought for practical guidance, and got it from every available source. Much of it is common newspaper material, the rest is historical, geographical, a digest of the mining laws of the United States and Canada, and the rest is filled with maps and pictures.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

At last there are signs that self-puffing authors are being shamed out of this trickery. We have perhaps wearied some readers with too frequent iteration on this subject but it is because the evil has spread so greatly of late as to imperil the reputation of authors for upholding the dignity of their craft. Besides this, there is the practical aspect of the offence, it is simply an attempt to bamboozle the public into buying books for reasons outside of their intrinsic merit. When a novelist tries to beguile us into getting his book by telling us all about his winning ways at home, his skill at carving a chicken or a knobstick, and the number of cents he gets per word, he fails to perceive that he

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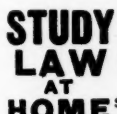
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is classing himself with the freaks who write their autographs with their toes for a dime, or expect us to pay to see them because they once dived from Brooklyn bridge. Time was, and within the memory of middle-aged people, when an author worth his salt would have been grossly insulted if asked to make a show of his private self, as a trick to sell his books.

Here is one of these signs, in the London letter of the *Critic*, and if wicked Cockneys are getting ashamed of their dodges there is good hope for general repentance and reform.

"The question of the morality of the puff preliminary has been raised this week by a dignified and manly letter to one of the daily papers from the pen of an 'English Novelist.' It is generally understood that the writer is Dr. Conan Doyle, and he certainly deserves well of Letters for the straightforward fashion in which he has expounded the ethics of the question. It is certain that there is a vast deal too much of the puff preliminary just now; but, after all, is it all the author's fault? I think not: and I believe that in nineteen out of twenty cases the author would gladly be free of this nauseous form of advocating the excellences of his work. But what is he to do? On the one hand he finds his publisher naturally anxious to push his wares, and desirous of every inch of publicity which he can secure outside the legitimate advertising columns. Is the author to run counter to his publisher in a matter which is clearly to the advantage of both? It is a vulgar, an essentially vulgar dilemma; but it is the direct result of all this prattle about returns, royalties and literary property, with which our ears are perpetually bombarded nowadays. Moreover, there are the editors. An interview is an attractive form of journalism, and an author with ideas is apt, half unconsciously, to give the most admirable 'free copy,' which cannot but be made much of by even an incompetent paragraphist. Is the author to offend the editors? They will have the disposition of the reviews later, and reviews are popularly supposed to sell books."

The writer of the above speaks feelingly, being a minor author himself, with a soul not above accepting this kind of assistance, but he makes a particularly funny omission. He forgets to mention the literary correspondents in London and New York, being himself a conspicuous example, whose letters to the other side, respectively, are made up of little else than these very puffs preliminary, interview puffs, puffs oblique, and puffs most gross and palpable. He is an adept at these and in this same virtuous letter he illustrates the puff negative, giving his friend Richard Le Gallienne a gentle scolding for the "cheap sensationalism" of his new book's title "If I were God," thus favoring it with the most valuable cheap advertising.

Charles Dudley Warner philosophizes on the ethics of the American newspaper. He of course admits, and deplores, the vulgar sensationalism so generally cultivated. When it comes to naming a remedy he hits upon this device: let reputable people agree to pay enough for their news to enable the papers to dispense largely with advertisements, because sensationalism grows out of the necessity to gain large circulation to attract advertisers. Has Mr. Warner been summering in the cool Shades with Don Quixote? The papers deal with not one public but twenty publics, eighteen of which relish the sensationalism the other two despise and already ignore by buying the very papers which dispense with it. Sensationalism is too big a word to be treated as a single thing, it asserts itself, and not necessarily always badly, in the organs of religion, politics, art, science, law and literature. Why not speak plainly and denounce the licentious and criminal panderings of the popular newspaper? There is not a day but some paper in each city prints news and advertisements so flatly illegal as to set folks guessing what mysterious influence keeps officers of the law from seeing and doing the duty they are paid to do.

"In the number of *Punch* issued on 15 Dec. 1849 (Vol. XVII., p. 225)," writes Mr. Frederick S. Dickson, of Philadelphia, in the *Critic*, "there is a brief paper headed 'Music by Electric Telegraph,' in which we read:—

"It appears that songs and pieces of music are now sent from Boston to New York by electric telegraph. Our American brethren have among them such remarkable musical instruments, and in fact such astounding lyres, that nothing coming from the other side of the Atlantic can take us by surprise; and we are,

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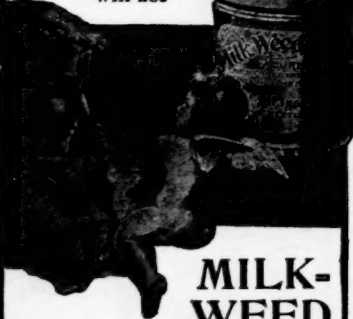
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therefore, not altogether dumfounded by the announcement of music having been carried from one portion of the States to another on the wires of the electric telegraph.

"The writer then goes on to speculate upon the possibilities of popular vocalists being thus able to increase their salaries by singing in four or five places at once, and Jenny Lind 'will have an opportunity of gratifying the subscribers to Her Majesty's Theatre, and a couple of audiences many hundred miles off at the same moment.' The paragraph is illustrated by a rather poorly drawn cut, presumably intended to represent Jennie Lind seated in an easy-chair and comfortably singing to three transmitters labeled respectively 'Hanover Square,' 'Philharmonic' and 'Exeter Hall.' This is an excellent description of the telephone, and I am curious to know what newspaper announcement gave birth to this paragraph, and still more to know what invention caused this discussion at that early date."

Home-made telephones used to be common enough in the early fifties. As schoolboys we managed to communicate with each other as next door neighbors, and even across the street, from bedroom windows on still nights, exchanging tips on lessons.

The Publishers' Weekly gives the outer world a peep into the secrets of the bookselling business. "Any acute observer of the book-publishing trade must have had forced upon his mind in recent years the fact that book-publishing embraces two or three distinct lines of business, the confusion of which results in a general confusion of the conditions of the publishing business. There are, in fact, three distinctive classes of book-publishing. First, there are the cheap standards and like books, on which there is no copyright protection, and on which there is and always will be unlimited competition. These have practically become articles of manufacture, on which, by good judgment, a manufacturing profit may be made, but nothing more. There are, again, the distinctively new books, some of which may be successes, many of which are bound to be failures, and failures which must be paid for out of the proceeds of the successful books, or out of some other line of publishing. The third line, which is, after all, the most solid in the publishing business, and is its substantial foundation, is the large class of books protected by copyright which are of permanent value and good sale." These furnish from year to year a legitimate living profit.

The Icelanders living in Minnesota, North Dakota and Manitoba have resolved to found a college. The town of Crystal, N. D., has offered \$2000 and six acres of land as an inducement for the location of the new institution within its limits; Park River, N. D., has offered \$4000 and ten acres of land; and now Winnipeg claims that the college should be established there. The question of its location will not be decided till next January, when Park River will have the college if it raises its bonus to \$6000, and Winnipeg does not make a more advantageous offer.

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